LABOUR MONTHLY

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Editor: R. Palme Dutt

Hands Off the Middle East!

R.P.D's urgent call to stop this aggression

★

Cyprus

Fresh from a visit there, Clive Evatt, Q.C., Commonwealth Labour Party Leader, exposes Tory Colonialism

Other Articles include

WAGES IN METAL
Jim Gardner, on the Confederation's new challenge to wage-freeze

THE INEXHAUSTIBLE GRAIN
Another moving pen-picture by D. N. Pritt, Q.C. of freedom-seekers

PAUL LAFARGUE
on France in 1888, now translated by Andrew Rothstein

GUNBOATS OFF THE LEBANON
A. Masri describes another Anglo-American intervention

AUGUST · 1958

ONE SHILLING AND SIXPENCE

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BUT HOW SOON?

WHY SHOULD a serious political journal designed to serve the needs of the British worker make a strong appeal to readers overseas? Sketching the history last month of LABOUR MONTHLY since it was founded in 1921 in consultation with engineering shop stewards and miners, I said we might consider that question next. From the first number in July, 1921, there were articles which especially interested overseas readers. First, there were those dealing with the struggle of the peoples against colonialism—stressed today in contents of this number, and in the Discussion Conference on 'Britain and the Colonies'. (See page 346.) Amongst examples in the first volumes was the first translation of Lenin on the famous New Economic Policy of 1921, long before it was obtainable elsewhere. (It has been a practice of ours ever since to provide first translations of classics.) There was Bernard Shaw on 'The Dictatorship of the Proletariat'; Nosaka on Japan. There was 'The Diplomacy of Ramsay MacDonald' which proved of burning interest when people were everywhere wondering how exactly to sum up the first Labour Government's ill-starred 'continuity of foreign policy'. There was the series 'World of Labour'.

How widespread is this overseas readership? Today we have readers in over 60 countries—and not only those where English is the first or second language. Further, in some countries L.M. is read under very difficult conditions. There are places where a score of readers will club together to buy a single copy; where articles must be translated and read aloud; where the penalty for reading or even possessing a copy is severe. Indeed, if we were to list territories where L.M. has been banned officially in the past 37 years, —one of the worst, of course, has ever been the oil-soaked Middle East—it would give an illuminating glimpse of obstacles set on the arduous road to liberation. And if we were to list those administrators who ban it today, what a Rogues' Gallery we should have of what Mr. Dulles and his loyal tail-lamps call the 'Free World'. But it is one thing to forbid the tide to flow and quite another to keep your feet dry, as King Canute's lackeys discovered. L.M. gets smuggled in, I gather. One copy gets read page by page passed from hand to hand. Stories I could tell of Middle East readers would provide a Socialist 'Hollywood' with dozens of True Adventure stories. Study the response and it becomes clear that L.M. is eagerly read overseas for two reasons. First, because it is not armchair, theoretical abstractions, but down-to-earth commentary on current events from a class angle, in the light of Marxism-Leninism applied to what is happening now. (As that remarkable Scottish Socialist John MacLean used to tell his political classes: 'LABOUR MONTHLY is Marxism. If you want living Marxism, read it'.) Here is political theory applied in the round. Contributors try to get a cutting edge on what they write, to make precision tools for those in the front line to use. Such journals can't be invented; they have to grow—and they don't grow on every bush. It is not surprising, therefore, that not a few of the successful journals in countries newly liberating themselves from imperialism have taken L.M. as their model.

(Continued on page iii of cover)

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Hands off the Middle East!

Since these Notes were written the news has come of the American-British armed aggression in the Middle East against Arab national liberation in Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq. Reference is made to this at the end of these Notes. The highest point in the fight for peace and freedom of nations since Korea and Suez is now here.

IRAQ has risen. The revolution in Iraq opens a new world situation with incalculable consequences. No final judgement of the further outcome would be appropriate at the moment of writing, when only the first fragmentary news of the uprising and the proclamation of the Republic has become available. By the time these Notes are read the further development of the national revolution and the reactions of the powers will have revealed themselves. But this much must be said.

Iraq was the pivot and base of British power in the Middle East, of the already dwindling and shrinking Middle Eastern Empire of Britain created after the First World War. Iraq was the pivot and base, alongside Aden and the American air bases in Arabia, of Western military power and strategy in the Middle East. Iraq was the pivot and base, the nominal originator and the centre, of the Baghdad Pact, the instrument of Western counter-revolutionary intervention to seek to dominate all the peoples of the vast area from the Eastern borders of the Mediterranean to the borders of Assam and Burma. Iraq was the chosen instrument to

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be used to seek to counter the inspiring call of united Arab liberation represented by the United Arab Republic, and to set up as the alternative the mockery of the federation of the two puppet régimes maintained by imperialist support in Iraq and Jordan under the aegis of petty royalties invented and created by British military commanders.

National Revolution

How has Iraq been thus held back for so long in the midst of the advancing tide of Arab liberation? There is no mystery about the answer. It was not backwardness or lack of national feeling of the Iraqi people. Again and again through all these years the Iraqi people have demonstrated their thirst for national freedom in heroic struggles and revolutionary risings, notably in that uprising which smashed Bevin's Portsmouth Treaty. Nor was it the mythical 'prosperity' which the imperialist exploiters and profiteers from Iraq's oil resources claimed that their exploitation had spread. That 'prosperity' went to the handful of ruling families and satellites of the régime; the mass of the people were held down in poverty and illiteracy. The long out-dated and universally execrated grip of imperialism on the Iraqi people was maintained by one of the most ruthless régimes of military and police terror even in the modern array of imperialist puppet states of the type of the régime of a Chiang Kai-shek or a Syngman Rhee.

Labour Party and Iraq

It is significant that the otherwise so eloquent Western apostles of 'humanism' and 'individual liberty' and crusaders against 'authoritarianism' and the 'police state', always ready to launch the most vociferous campaigns when it is a question of attacking a socialist régime and its measures of self-defence against imperialist intervention and counter-revolution, were strangely silent about Iraq. The terror in Iraq was maintained under the auspices of British military occupation and the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty with bipartisan support. Was there a squeak from Mr. Gaitskell? We do not recall Mr. Gaitskell and his fellow lovers of liberty organising any demonstration of protest in London against the terror in Iraq. Perhaps they were too conscious that it was the first Labour Government under MacDonald and General Thomson which began the system of air-bombing in Iraq, and the third Labour Government under Earl Attlee, Bevin and Mr. Gaitskell which sought to impose

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the Portsmouth Treaty against the universal resistance of the Iraqi people. Now Iraq has risen. When Iraq has risen, can the full summer of united Arab liberation throughout the Middle East be far behind?

What Will the West Attempt?

How will the Western powers react? Already before the revolution in Iraq they were engaged in massing their forces for their counter-offensive in the Middle East, specifically with relation to Lebanon and Jordan. The massive British airlift to Cyprus had already stationed there the great part of Britain's mobile strategic reserve in readiness for action. The American Sixth Fleet had been moved into position; the marines had been dispatched. The unstable puppet rulers in Lebanon and Jordan, faced with the implacable hostility of their own peoples, will only too eagerly, if occasion arises, offer the Western powers the pretext for intervention. Already Britain has entered on armed action in Southern Yemen, in the region of Aden, with the lawless deposition of the Sultan of Lahej, following on the armed aggression against the people of Lahej.

Threats of Intervention

Thus all the pieces are mounted for massive intervention by the West, if such were decided, at any rate in the preliminary form of occupation of Lebanon and Jordan, with a view to feeling out the possibilities for fomenting division in order to overthrow the patriotic régime in Iraq. Nor would the lack of any formal diplomatic pretext for such intervention present in itself an insuperable obstacle any more than in all the previous cases of Western lawless armed aggression in the Middle East and elsewhere. Suez has sufficiently illustrated this. It is true that the formal cover of a 'United Nations' sanction would be considered highly desirable by the Western aggressors if they decided on action. It is also true that the Charter of the United Nations specifically forbids such action unless authorised by the Security Council with the concurrence of the five permanent members or leading Powers, including the Soviet Union. But the illegality of the Korean War under the Charter did not prevent very extensive military invasion of Korea. Since then the further illegal formula has been devised of resort to a vote of the Assembly, which is specifically excluded by the Charter from war-making powers. If in the new balance the necessary two-thirds majority vote of the Assembly could not be rigged,

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the official representatives of the United States and Britain have publicly indicated their readiness to take independent military action, if they thought fit, either under an extended interpretation of the Eisenhower Doctrine or the Baghdad Pact or even the Anglo-Araqi Treaty, although all these only cover aid against external attack.

Article 51

Finally, if all these fail, the official representatives of the United States and Britain have indicated, already with reference to Lebanon, their readiness to take independent military action, if they thought fit, under their famous ultimate 'catch-all' clause, their interpretation of Article 51 of the Charter as justifying any military action taken in 'self-defence'. It is obvious that if Britain, for example, is at this moment engaged in invading Lahej, arresting its citizens, deposing its lawfully elected Sultan in order to impose a puppet, and conducting armed aggression against its people, this military action, although not sanctioned by any vote or decision of the United Nations, is fully in accord with the new fashionable imperialist interpretation of the Charter of the United Nations, since it represents in accordance with Article 51 indispensable 'self-defence' of the British people against the menace of the people of Lahej, or 'collective self-defence' together with the puppet they have installed. Indeed, in the whole long history of imperialist aggression and invasion of other people's countries all over the world, it would be difficult to discover an example of what used to be crudely called aggression which would not now be adequately covered by the new elastic interpretation of Article 51. No, it is not the absence of formal diplomatic pretext or justification that creates the special difficulties in the path of extended imperialist military intervention in the Middle East under present conditions.

Dilemma of the Western Powers

The present problem of the Western imperialist powers in relation to Iraq and the advance of Arab liberation in the Middle East lies deeper. It has long been clear to them, since the Second World War, that the old methods of military domination and direct or thinly veiled colonial rule, as established in the 'New Middle Eastern Empire' built up by Britain out of the ruins of the Turkish Empire after the First World War, could no longer be maintained. Not merely the advance of the Arab liberation movement, but also the increasing American penetration, eager to take advantage of

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the consequent contradictions facing Britain in order to weaken Britain's hold and extend its own, amphasized the untenability of the old position. The independence of Syria and Lebanon after the Second World War, the loss of Palestine, the Iraq rising of 1948, the enforced evacuation of Egypt, first to the Canal Zone, and then from the Canal Zone, the Iran oil nationalisation crisis and the fiasco of Morrison's military bombastic threats over Abadan, the expulsion of Glubb from Jordan, and finally the fiasco of the Eden-Macmillan assault on Suez, have all reinforced this lesson. On the other hand, the Western powers are still unable to reconcile themselves to the new conditions, to the recognition of independence and non-intervention, as urged by the Soviet Union. Their hatred and abuse of Nasser during recent years has almost equalled their hatred and abuse of Communism. They still regard, and in every speech openly proclaim, the continuance of their effective domination and military occupation of the Middle East as 'a vital interest of the West', that is, as essential for the strategic interests and economic exploitation interests of Western imperialism.

Oil

These special and very powerful economic interests of the Western imperialists in the Middle East, it should be explained, do *not* mean the question of the *supply* of Middle Eastern oil to Britain and Western Europe. There is no problem here. This is only the highly mythical picture ('Britain's life-line in danger'; 'the life-line of Britain's industry'; 'our livelihood and employment depend on Middle Eastern oil; it is as simple as that', etc.) presented in the vulgar propaganda of the Macmillans and Edens to the trustful British public in order to reconcile them to the supposed necessity of the endless and costly military measures and operations and adventures in the Middle East. All the oil required would be abundantly available from a free Middle East on a basis of equal exchange. The only interruption of the flow came through the action of Sir Anthony Eden, when he deprived British industry of Middle Eastern oil in order to save it from such a deprivation.

Not Supply, But Exploitation

It would obviously be in the interest of a free Middle East to sell as much oil as possible to the West, on a normal commercial basis in exchange for goods, without the need of any special military apparatus. In addition, the price would probably be cheaper; since the present Anglo-American oil monopolies which control the

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supply and distribution, and most of the refining, while obtaining their crude supplies at low costs on the basis of very low production costs through low wages, sell at the world market price maintained at the highest level of American or Venezuelan oil, with higher production costs, and are able to extract gigantic profits from the difference. It is these colonial super profits of the oil monopolies which represent the 'vital economic interest' of the Western powers in the Middle East, and are seen as justifying all the political and military intervention, since it is not incorrectly assumed that a free Middle East would rapidly seek to nationalise these resources in order to use the revenue for the development needs of the people. It has been calculated that, on the basis of these profits of the oil monopolies, British capitalism at present in effect receives its Middle Eastern oil without paying for it (*i.e.*, the payment is covered by the oil profits and thus balances in the balance of payments), and still has a surplus profit.

Peaceful Alternative

Certainly, on the basis of peaceful commercial exchange with a free Middle East, the British people would have to pay for their Middle Eastern oil with goods. From the standpoint of the British monopoly capitalists this would represent ruin and the collapse of their present structure of the balance of payments. From the standpoint of the British people it would represent unmitigated benefit. On the one hand, it would remove all the exaggerated military costs derived from the Middle Eastern strategic policy, garrisons, occupation, bases and ceaseless wars. On the other hand, the export of goods to the free Middle East in exchange for the oil, would stimulate production and employment in Britain, at the same time as it would help development in the Middle East and thus promote prosperity. That is why the repeated Soviet proposals for a peaceful policy and settlement in relation to the Middle East, on the basis of recognition of national independence, withdrawal of all bases and foreign military occupation, and non-supply of arms and non-intervention by all the powers, corresponds not only to the interests of the Middle Eastern peoples, but equally to the interests of the British and other Western peoples. But the Western powers have consistently rejected every such peaceful proposal. To maintain their domination in the Middle East they are still ready to commit ceaseless aggression, to invade, to occupy with military forces, to instal and maintain corrupt reactionary régimes and conduct unending wars.

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New Colonialism

Hence the Western powers, in place of recognising the new conditions and reconciling themselves to Arab liberation, have sought to continue their old domination by new methods, by special military treaties, dispatch of troops of occupation, maintenance of military and air bases, and all other forms of intervention short of the old colonial rule. These are the methods which have been described as the 'New Colonialism'. The classic ground of the 'New Colonialism' has been the Middle East. Typical of these methods of special military treaties have been the Baghdad Pact, the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty, the U.S.-Arabian Military Agreement and the Eisenhower Doctrine.

Crumbling Structure

But the weakness of this new structure to hold back the advance of Arab national liberation has been abundantly shown in the outcome. Despite every form of pressure—and indeed the original break with Egypt arose over this issue—not a single Arab state except the discredited régime of Nuri would accept the Baghdad Pact. Only Lebanon and Libya accepted the Eisenhower Doctrine, and the acceptance by President Chamoun met with universal opposition from all political sections. Further, the professed theory underlying these military pacts was to offer 'military protection' (like the gangster imposing 'protection' on the unhappy shopkeeper) against an imaginary hypothetical menace of Soviet military aggression. But every child could see that there was no Soviet military aggression, no Soviet occupation, no Soviet bases, nor any prospect of any; all the aggression and invasion came from the Western powers. It was against their self-styled 'protectors' that the people needed protection.

'Protection'—Against Whom?

So the formula was extended to cover aggression by 'international communism' in the hope of lumping anything under that heading. Again in vain. Certainly there are communists in the Middle East, fighting bravely in the common national liberation struggle. But it was obvious to every observer that the national liberation movement comprised all patriots, like the old resistance movements in Occupied Europe; and that the dominant leadership is at present opposed to communism. Indeed, when the leadership of the United Arab Republic proclaimed communism illegal, it became difficult for the most zealous American or British propagandist to describe

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this leadership as part of an 'international communist conspiracy'. So the formula had to be extended again to include the menace of aggression by the 'octopus tentacles of Nasser and the United Arab Republic'—*i.e.*, to 'protect' the Arab people against the menace of the Arab liberation movement. But even this final absurdity has broken down. In the case of the popular uprising against the stooges in Lebanon the attempt was made to create a myth of 'massive infiltration' from the United Arab Republic. The report of the United Nations Observers smashed that myth. In the case of Iraq even that myth could not be attempted. What remains for the Western powers? Only the bare choice remains. Either to accept the victory of Arab liberation. Or to enter on the desperate course of open, brutal, lawless aggression and military intervention.

Let the Imperialists Beware

Iraq is a little country of five millions. Lebanon and Jordan are little countries of one and a half millions each. No wonder the Western imperialist rulers, drunk with past power, may still imagine that it is only a matter of dispatching their warships and jet planes and commandos and marines to overawe and terrify and bully into submission. Have they learned nothing yet? Have they learned nothing from Suez? Egypt was also a small country in terms of material and armed power. But it was the mighty British and French Empires, once lords of the world, which bit the dust when they turned their guns on Egypt. Iraq and Lebanon and Jordan and Egypt do not stand alone. They are united in the unity of the Arab nation, forty millions strong, and with the Arabs of North Africa, eighty millions. They are united with all the Afro-Asian nations of Bandung, the majority of mankind. Alongside them in the cause of national independence and peace stand all the socialist peoples, one-third of the world, firm and true friends, and not without strength. The balance of the world is no longer on the side of the imperialist powers. They attacked Egypt and failed. They organised counter-revolution in Indonesia and Hungary and failed. They mounted their offensive against Syria and drew back. Admittedly they are now desperate; and a desperate beast can be dangerous. But if they start making trouble now, they may find they are starting more than they anticipate.

Hands Off the Middle East!

At the moment of writing, since the beginning of these Notes, the news has come of the landing of 5,000 United States marines in

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Lebanon and preparation for a parallel British landing in Jordan. So they have chosen this path. Characteristically they have not even waited for the presence of United Nations sanction. As in Korea, so here the United States rulers prefer the path of independent military action and presentation only of the accomplished fact to the United Nations. Britain has hastened to approve the United States action and to declare that British armed forces stand ready. The puppet ruler of Jordan has offered the same invitation to the foreign invaders as in the case of Lebanon. The match has been applied by the incendiaries to the whole explosive region of the Middle East. The flames will need to be put out quickly if they are not to lead to a wider conflagration.

Peace in the Balance

The present crisis is even graver than that of Suez; for it is taking place at a more advanced stage in the development of the Middle East, and also at a more advanced stage in the development of the world situation, armaments relations and international tension. Peace is in the balance. The mobilisation of all the peoples of the world for peace is today even more urgent than at the time of Suez. The call 'Hands Off the Middle East!' needs to be sounded from every side, from every section of the labour movement and all supporters of peace. The dangerous relative lull in broad peace activity, apart from a zealous minority, during the recent period, which has made it possible for the Western powers to block summit talks and even resist responding to the Soviet unilateral suspension of nuclear tests, needs now to be reversed. The divisions in the peace movement need to be overcome. Unity for peace is the supreme need, if peace is to be saved. The testing time is here.

July 15, 1958. R.P.D.

Gordon Sandison, general secretary since 1947 of Equity, the trade union of the theatre, died on July 3, at the age of 45. He was a valued friend of Labour Monthly *and a contributor. His work for Equity put it on a firm basis as a trade union. His contributions, written in 1943 before his last ten years of ill-health, dealt trenchantly with the views of Lord Vansittart on international relations.*

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Has your trade union branch* had its invitation yet?

We mean, of course, to the Labour Monthly Discussion Conference on BRITAIN AND THE COLONIES.

(October 26: 10.30 – 5. Denison House, London, S.W.1)

If so, please make sure it sends a delegation.

If it has *not* received an invitation and you wish us to send one, drop a line *at once* to: Conference Manager, 134 Ballards Lane, London, N.3

Here's a chance for free and unfettered discussion on such subjects as:

Is Divide-and-Rule the only solution for Cyprus?

Can Africans and White Settlers live together, or is another 'Algeria' brewing in Kenya and Central Africa?

What's the future for the West Indies, Nigeria and Malaya?

And for Britain: Is it true that lower prices for colonial products mean unemployment and short time here? Who benefits from colonies? What ought the next Labour Government to do?

Amongst sponsors who already support the Conference are: Percy Belcher; Cedric Belfrage; John Berger; J. G. Crowther, Rev. Stanley Evans; Arthur Horner; the Very Rev. Hewlett Johnson, M.A., B.Sc., D.D.; S. Leff, M.D.; Joan Maynard J.P.; Alderman J. H. Nicholson; Harold Poole; D. N. Pritt, Q.C.; Councillor E. A. Roberts; Archibald Robertson; Gordon Schaffer.

***And, naturally, your trades council, Co-op, political party branch and any similar organisation.**

(Delegates fee, 2s.6d. Visitors, 2s.)

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CYPRUS: TORY COLONIALISM EXPOSED

Clive Evatt, Q.C.
President Australian Committee for Cyprian Self-determination

MY recent visit to Cyprus confirmed all that I had heard and read concerning the Cypriots and their beautiful island. They are essentially a peace-loving, friendly, industrious and clever people, obviously quite able to manage their own affairs and naturally determined, like all true patriots, to liberate their island from foreign domination. Their courage and devotion are such that they will never abandon their legitimate aspirations for self-determination.

The visit also confirmed my belief that the so-called 'Turkish problem' was a myth—artificially created and fostered by provocateurs. By and large the Turkish-speaking Cypriots, who number less than one-fifth of the population, are not interested in 'partition'. Basically and fundamentally they regard themselves as 'Cypriots'. So, too, do the Greek-speaking islanders—whose Greek, incidentally, is purer than that spoken anywhere else. The culture and traditions of Cyprus are essentially Greek, as history establishes.

I am often asked: 'What is the solution of the Cyprus problem?' There is only one possible reply: 'Self-determination'.

The case for self-determination is overwhelming and unanswerable. Self-determination is expressly or impliedly guaranteed to peoples such as the Cypriots, by the Atlantic Charter, by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and by resolutions carried by the United Nations Assembly. Self-determination has been expressly or impliedly promised by every British Prime Minister of note since and including Gladstone. The British and the Australian Labour Parties have in unmistakeable terms declared in favour of Cyprian self-determination. At Dorking last year twenty-six British Commonwealth Labour Parties emphatically resolved that peoples such as the Cypriots were entitled to and should be granted the right to determine their own destinies.

But the Macmillan Government does not intend to grant Cyprus this right and in an attempt to justify their stand, the Tories have converted the island into a Police State as bad as anything seen under totalitarian rule. The 'rule of law' no longer exists: civil liberties have been abridged to vanishing point: imprisonment

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without trial is the lot of Cypriots imprisoned in the infamous concentration camp at Kokkinotrimithea: 'British justice' has become a mockery. As dissension on Cyprus provides the Tories with an excuse for denying the Cypriots self-determination, so Tory policy involves provocation of the most disgraceful kind. All sections of the British public should demand immediately a Royal Commission or other impartial inquiry to expose exactly what is occurring on Cyprus.

Here are some examples of Tory mis-rule. Although the vast majority of Cypriots are of Greek extraction (over 80 per cent.), an exclusively Turkish auxiliary police force exists on the island. Could there be anything more provocative than the creation of such an organisation? According to reputable citizens on the island this force contains criminals and others with most questionable antecedents.

On Friday, June 6, 1958, Raouf Denktash (described as the No. 2 Turkish-Cypriot) returned to Cyprus after a fortnight in Turkey. Denktash enjoys remarkable immunity including—one gathers—freedom from arrest. On his arrival he addressed a public gathering in Nicosia without the slightest interference from the forces or from the Turkish police. Some of his remarks as reported in the *Cyprus Mail* of June 7, 1958, are indeed interesting:

> We shall not accept self-government for Cyprus or any form of constitution. We want partition. Thousands of Turkish youths are ready to rush to our aid if necessary. The Turkish nation and the Cypriot Turks are determined for partition. We may have to undergo some difficult days but be sure that our goal will be achieved at the end.

Mr. Denktash said he was convinced from his talks that partition was a just cause which could not be abandoned by the Turkish Government or Turks in Cyprus, he told his cheering audience:

> Everybody in Turkey strongly believes that either today or tomorrow or some day in the future, 'taksim' will be granted unconditionally.

Any Greek-Cypriot who ventured to address a public meeting or speak in such terms would be unceremoniously thrown into the concentration camp at Kokkinotrimithia to join the other Greek-Cypriot political prisoners held there without trial. But not so with Denktash, who after his inflammatory speech was cordially received at the British Secretariat by the Administrative Secretary.

Events soon took a startling turn. The following night (June 7, 1958) from 10 o'clock till after midnight a section of Nicosia was attacked by a Turkish mob. Greek-Cypriot buildings were burnt and their occupants were brutally attacked—some fatally. The Turkish police and the British authorities allowed these outrages to

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continue without interruption for over two hours. The sky was aglow and church bells rang out their grim warning before any real attempt was made to stop these atrocities against innocent Greek-Cypriots. When the latter attempted to retaliate the authorities took action; not, however, against those responsible for the initial lawlessness but against innocent Greek-Cypriots who were endeavouring to defend their families and their homes.

Outraged by these occurrences the Mayor of Nicosia, Dr. Dervis, telephoned Governor Foot and complained that the security forces had arrived too late. The Mayor said:

> Slackness by police in taking action gave the Turks time to complete their orgy. The criminal acts of 1955 in Istanbul have now been repeated in Nicosia. What measures did the government take after Mr. Denktash's 'rabble-rousing' speeches to the Turks? The atrocities committed tonight are the result of Denktash's speech. If I were to make that kind of speech I'd have been put in prison or sent into exile. Why has the Government permitted this gentleman to provoke the crowds. The Greek people believe that the Government were the Turks' accomplices in their atrocities—otherwise it would have taken immediate and stronger measures to protect the public. The police and the army always arrive too late and show unwillingness and apathy to act when the Turks are committing murders and firing Greek property. I want to know why the Turks are armed and why the authorities fail to search Turkish houses as they search Greek houses. The people have no more confidence in the Government in view of its scandalous partiality to the Turks.

Evidence is mounting daily of a Tory-Turkish conspiracy to stage a reign of terror on the island, the aggressors consisting of gangs of Turkish criminals. The Turkish police close their eyes to their atrocities. Day after day Greek-Cypriots are being slaughtered. Governor Foot's refrain 'I shall restore order' has a hollow ring to those who know the truth. The fact is there is no order: and order on the island would baulk the Macmillan Government's plans. It would bring nearer the realisation of self-determination. And that is exactly what the Tories want to prevent.

In requesting the urgent despatch of a United Nations observer team to Cyprus, Bishop Anthimos of Kitium stated:

> Greeks are being murdered in broad daylight, houses and shops burned and Greeks forcibly evicted from their homes under the very eyes of the British authorities who do nothing to protect the Greek-Cypriot population which has lost the last dregs of confidence in security authorities.

Greek Teachers Excluded

I found that the Greek schools on Cyprus were hopelessly understaffed. This was again the fault of the British authorities who refuse entry permits for teachers from Greece whence hitherto

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teachers freely came. On the other hand, no restriction is placed on the entry of Turkish teachers from Turkey.

I sought from the Governor an explanation of this cruel discrimination which so unjustly penalised Greek-Cypriot school children. 'Why do you exclude Greek teachers?' I asked. 'They are all murderers', replied the Governor, who, however, was unable to supply any valid evidence to support his sweeping charge. In Foot's favour it might be explained that he did not always display such anti-Greek bias. On his arrival in Cyprus he gave the impression of making some attempt to act impartially. But following the Turkish-Tory rapprochement early this year, Foot's attitude seemed to undergo a remarkable change: this no doubt would be due to instructions from the Colonial Office. Certain it is that the administration is now as completely pro-Turk as it is anti-Greek. It was rather pathetic to hear Governor Foot plead the Turkish case as though it were some reality and not the bogey manufactured at the Ankara talks.

Since I left Cyprus there has been further evidence of provocative conduct by the British.

> The troops have a general order to leave Greek and Turkish flags alone, since their removal usually causes further incidents but the Greeks still living at Omorfita (a suburb of Nicosia) today were resentful at seeing Turkish flags planted on their homes under the eyes of the authorities.
>
> (*Manchester Guardian*, July 3, 1958.)

To keep Cyprus in a state of tension is an essential part of the Macmillan Government's programme. Turkish-Greek enmity is fostered; thus thrives the policy of 'Divide-and-Rule', the centuries-old weapon of the colonialists.

The Macmillan Government has produced a plan—an 'adventure in partnership', the Prime Minister called it when introducing it in the House of Commons. The Plan of course cannot succeed. It is not intended to succeed. It is fraudulent and hypocritical. Its smugness nauseates. It has been widely condemned. The Cypriots themselves will have none of it. Self-determination is their due. Why should they take less and so much less?

It was a bitter disappointment that the Labour opposition in replying to the Tory plan failed so ignominiously. Here was an historic opportunity for greatness, an opportunity to capture public imagination by courageously upholding the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, decisions of the United Nations Assembly, the Labour Party's own decision at Brighton, the twenty-six Commonwealth Labour Parties' resolution at Dorking. Why did Labour

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retreat in the House of Commons on Thursday, June 26, 1958, in the Cyprus debate? This question must be answered at the next conference of the British Labour Party. Upon that answer may hinge the success or failure of Labour in the General Election.

To those who sincerely support the principles of Labour, colonialism is abhorrent. It denies fundamental justice and basic civil liberties. It is the antithesis of democracy. Colonialism must perish! Let it perish on Cyprus and let it be replaced by long-promised but long-delayed self-determination. In that way will peace, justice and liberty be restored to the long-suffering Cypriot people.

AN INTERVENTION

. . . We favour the eventual liquidation of armies and the adoption of a system of militia, that is to say, militia forces to maintain order in the country rather than armed forces. As a matter of fact, our party intended to organise a national militia instead of a permanent army in the period before the October Revolution and immediately following it. At that time we allowed for the possibility that the western countries would not attack us. But things took quite a different turn; the actual state of affairs posed the issue in a different light. 'We could not exist', Lenin said, 'without the armed defence of the Socialist Republic'. Winston Churchill gave us an object lesson by organising the attack against the Soviet Union. Churchill once told Stalin jokingly: You should have awarded me an Order because I was the first to help train your young Soviet army in the military art by organising intervention against the Soviet Union! Of course, I have not quoted Churchill verbatim, but that is the gist of what he said.

Interview of *The Times* Foreign Editor with N. S. Khrushchov, January 31, 1958.

TWO-PARTY DEMOCRACY

President Syngman Rhee believes that South Korea can be reunited with North Korea only by reconquering it. The one significant party in his country which advocated reunification by negotiation—the Progressive Party—was declared illegal at the beginning of the campaign, and the leaders are now in prison on charges of espionage and of violating the National Security Law. . . .

The recent elections indicate reassuringly that a two-party system is being built up, so that there are alternative Governments even though they do not seem to have alternative policies.

Manchester Guardian editorial on the South Korean elections, May. 6, 1958.

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THE METALWORKERS' WAGES

*Jim Gardner

ENGINEERING wages are back in the news. The standstill arrived at when the strike was concluded last year has run out. For on May 23 last the Annex to the 1957 Wage Agreement between the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions and the Engineering Employers' Federation, establishing a twelve-months standstill on wage claims, ceased to be effective. An application for a substantial increase was presented to the Engineering Employers by the Executive of the Confederation on June 24, and to the Shipbuilding Employers on July 2.

The two and a half million engineers are again on the move.

The decision to submit a new claim was made at the May Quarterly Meeting of the Confederation General Council, in conformity with the following resolution approved by the 1957 Annual Conference:

> This Annual Conference of affiliated unions declares that it is the primary function of all trade unions to seek to improve the living standards of their members. Conference congratulates the membership of the affiliated unions for responding so loyally to the call to action which had to be made in pursuance of our legitimate policy.
>
> Recognising that no fall in our living standards can be tolerated and that the increased prosperity and productivity of the industries must benefit the workers employed in them, the Executive Council is authorised to submit wage claims at the appropriate time in respect of those industries in which the Confederation is the negotiating body and to consider how best to prevent protracted delays by incorporating the principle of retrospective payment in the settlement.

The declaration that it is the primary function of all trade unions to seek to improve the living standards of their members does no more than express the traditional purpose that has given life to our movement since the first trade union was formed. The further declaration that no fall in our living standards can be tolerated will be welcomed by the members of affiliated unions, but in fact what is not to 'be tolerated' has already happened, since living standards have fallen during the period of the standstill and even over a longer period.

Engineering workers are not noticeably sharing in the increased productivity for which they are responsible within the industries in which they are employed. It was with full knowledge of these

*Mr. James Gardner, as many of our readers will know, retires this month after many years' service as General Secretary of the Amalgamated Union of Foundryworkers.

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facts that the Confederation decided to implement the second paragraph of the 1957 resolution.

Since the end of World War II, successive claims for engineering and shipbuilding workers brought nominal advances in the standard rate, but while each wage increase never made up on rising prices, the accompanying increase in premium rates, together with local initiative in raising bonus earnings in conditions of full employment, meant that total earnings advanced even more than did the standard rate. Employment conditions are now less favourable. Earnings are falling, but the standard rate remains at the same level as last year for a full week's work—if the workers can get it. In this situation there has been a marked change in the climate of negotiations.

The fact that the 1957 wage agreement with Annex attached was only won by the solidarity of the union members concerned in the national strike of engineering and shipbuilding workers, is indicative of this change. Any hopes that the standstill imposed by the Annex would provide an opportunity for advancing negotiations on the shorter working week and for more holidays with more holiday pay were shown to be baseless. On the wage standstill and their interpretation of the Annex, that it included the shorter working week and holiday pay, the employers got their way.

Climatic conditions have grown even more turbulent this year—as is no doubt appreciated by the members of the Transport and General Workers' Union who have been involved in a series of strikes, that of the bus workers being outstanding. The struggle of the bus workers was generally appreciated for what it really was —a challenge to the whole trade union movement by the Tory Government against wage claims of any kind.

Financial support to the T. & G.W.U. was generous, but the burden of sacrifice fell on the London bus workers, who would doubtless have preferred that support should have been expressed in a manner as would have compelled a more speedy and more favourable settlement of their entirely just claim. More direct pressure from the trade unions, co-ordinated through the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, would have given more heart to them and to the millions of other workers with claims no less just.

To the engineering workers who themselves are now again involved in a challenge to Government policy of wage restraint, which was given effect to by the engineering employers in the Annex to last year's wage settlement, the outcome of the bus strike was a

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matter of some significance to their own claim. An unanswerable case for a substantial increase was presented to the engineering employers by the Chairman of the Confederation Engineering Sub-Committee, Mr. W. J. Carron, and to the shipbuilding employers by the Chairman of the Shipbuilding Sub-Committee, Mr. E. J. Hill. Both employer bodies have yet to reply, but if the content of the case were considered on merit, a substantial increase would be assured. As everyone knows, it does not work out that way, and no-one has any illusions as to what is likely to happen. The leopard does not change its spots, and employers do not change their attitude of resistance to the reasonable aspirations of working people to maintain and improve their living standards. It will need the same solidarity of engineering workers as in 1957, and as was displayed by the London bus workers this year, to win the increase which has already been unreasonably delayed by the 'standstill' agreement.

In brief, the engineering employers have been told that real wages must at least be restored to the level achieved by the 1957 settlement. Most engineering workers will regard this as quite inadequate, considering that even that did not restore the 1938 level of the disgracefully low standard rate of the skilled worker, measured in terms of real wages. Indeed, they will look for something more than a mere restoration of wages taken from them by the deliberate policy of forcing up prices.

In this regard, the attention of the employers was drawn to the fact of increases in the retail price index since March, 1957, of 6·6 points for food, 9·4 points for fuel and light, and 15·2 points for housing costs, this latter due to the Government's 'dear money' policy and the ending of subsidies, together with the increases imposed by the Rent Act, the full effect of which has not yet been felt in the index. An overall increase of 5 points in the index since the 1957 settlement, together with increases affecting the domestic budget not covered by the index—including increases in National Insurance contributions of 8d. in September, 1957, 2s. in February, 1958, and a further 6d. in July, 1958—would require a wage increase of not less than 6 per cent., if the workers were content to accept the restoration of the wage level established last year.

Every claim since the war has been made in conditions of rising prices and has sought to achieve something more than a mere restoration of the wage level obtained by a previous agreement. Yet the standard rate has never made up on prices, and the skilled engineering worker has not benefited from the higher productivity

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gained by the application of new and more efficient methods of production. There is, in fact, little difference in the value of the fitters' standard rate of 66s. in 1938 and 179s. 4d. in 1958, an increase of 171·7 per cent. in twenty years. In the same period, retail prices have increased by over 172 per cent.

These figures were quoted to the engineering employers as proof of the fact that the standard rate of the skilled worker has not advanced one penny in terms of real wages since before the war, and indeed, has actually deteriorated. Having established this fact, it could hardly be claimed that the skilled rate reflects anything of the increased productivity of the industry over the same period of time. No figures were available to show the rate of increase in productivity since 1938, but figures were quoted in the course of negotiations showing that since 1946 output per person employed in the engineering and shipbuilding industries has increased by 70 per cent.

Government policy precludes any wage adjustment to meet rising prices and decrees that no wage increase should be granted except on the basis of higher productivity, and limited to its extent. No doubt engineering workers would be pleased to accept an increase that would bring up the standard rate to a comparable figure with the increased productivity during the last twelve years. Without some adjustment of the rate for the job to reflect the advance in productivity, engineering workers will never be satisfied.

Thus, settlement of the railway claim was based on economies to be effected by re-organisation involving a reduction of staff, which must mean redundancy among railway workers. It is true the unions have never really accepted this, but they were left in no doubt that that was the intention of the Transport Commission.

Suggestions were also made for a settlement of the London bus dispute on similar lines; that is, by spreadover shift work and fewer buses on the road on off-peak travel periods. The Transport and General Workers' Union would have nothing to do with such conditions, but it is all in conformity with Government policy and the various employer bodies who, to preserve their own profits attempt to freeze wages to a production norm that would inevitably bring redundancy and unemployment in its train.

During the years of full employment when the unions were strong enough to compel a real advance in living standards, every wage increase gained was cancelled out by further price increases. Employers kept on telling us there was a difference between the rate and average earnings paid in the industry. They submitted tables

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of earnings to prove their point, heedless of the fact that the average included earnings from overtime, bonus and piecework and were payments for the extra production efforts of the workers.

When reminded that profit margins were running well ahead of earnings, the employers never failed to explain that these were being ploughed back to increase the production capacity of the industry and to keep the workers employed. Their generosity was boundless—or at least that is what they asked us to believe. But workers are not so credulous and never willingly agreed that profits should take all the 'plums' out of the larger 'cake' of industrial output. Profits made out of the unpaid earnings in prosperous years of full employment ploughed back, now represent the capital gains of the employers from which further and higher profits are now accruing. By investing their profit in more productive capital equipment, more production is obtained by fewer workers employed, while the standard rate is permitted to decline in terms of real values. How the workers have laboured during those prosperous years to make more profits, while their own standard rate has actually declined in the twenty years since 1938!

Figures presented to the employers show that since 1947 profits have more than trebled and dividends, after tax, have more than trebled since as recently as 1950. It was the effect of such high profits and dividends that inspired Mr. E. J. Hill, who, quoting the figures in the *Financial Times* of shipbuilding companies whose accounts were published in the first five months of the year, and recording an increase in ordinary dividend of approximately 12 per cent., suggested that the Confederation would be prepared to settle for a 12 per cent. increase, as was obtained by the shareholders. The employers seemed to think this was merely one of Ted Hill's jokes, but few workers will consider it as such, or see any reason why dividends should go up by 12 per cent. while their own standard rate is declining as a result of rising prices.

The engineering claim has been presented. Employers have been warned that a substantial increase is expected. There can be no question of compromising any more on the shorter working week. The 8-hour day, 40-hour week by progressive stages is a reasonable enough demand and that, accompanied by a substantial increase in wages, is the least the engineering workers should accept.

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GUNBOATS OFF THE LEBANON

A. Masri

Here is a picture of the first country to be invaded.

ONCE more in the last few weeks there has been a shameful spectacle—colonialism in action against the Arab liberation movement. Like the Bourbons in their decay, the Tories can neither forget their past nor learn from it. Less than two years after the Suez crisis, British warships and troops were again poised for action in the Eastern Mediterranean, ready to bomb and fight an Arab nation in rebellion against foreign domination.

Lebanon, a small nation with a population of $1\frac{1}{2}$ million, is up in arms against the régime of Camille Chamoun who was brought to the office of President six years ago at the time when British influence was still paramount in the country after a discreet take-over from the French at the end of the Second World War. Times have changed, and the Americans in their turn have stepped in since the British fiasco of 1956 in Egypt. At the outset of the Lebanese crisis last May, it looked as if this might be Dulles' own exclusive adventure, and indeed, the haste with which British warships were dispatched to the Lebanese coast and paratroops flown to nearby Cyprus was a measure of Macmillan's anxiety to share the honour and profits of finally teaching Arab nationalism a lesson. The stage was set, and the pretext not difficult to fabricate. From the moment that it became evident that Chamoun and his armed supporters of the neo-fascist Phalangist party were unable to put down the rebellion, the cry went out that there had been 'massive intervention' by the United Arab Republic of Egypt and Syria to justify the real intervention and save Chamoun.

The fallacy of this accusation was thoroughly exposed by the United Nations observers investigating on the spot, and Macmillan has had to share with Dulles the disgrace of being pointed at as the real menace to Lebanon. Despite Chamoun's best efforts, Dag Hammarskjoeld and a hundred observers could find no proof that the Lebanese crisis was not a purely domestic affair, and the obvious conclusion was drawn that the only foreign interference was that of American arms in the hands of Chamoun's gangs and of American and British warships ready for action a few miles from the shore.

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From the first it was overwhelmingly clear that the stake was Lebanons' independence and the immediate demand Chamoun's resignation and the abolition of the Eisenhower Doctrine imposed by him a year ago.

There was never any doubt as to the unpopularity of this American military alliance which was offered to the Middle East immediately after the aggression on Egypt in 1956 and rejected by all Arab countries except Lebanon and Libya. The Parliamentary opposition to Chamoun, grouped into a National Union Front, rejected it from the start despite persecution, assassinations and terror. By the beginning of this year, when it became clear that the American promises to help Lebanon's economic development had remained empty words and that the Eisenhower Doctrine was only a means of military domination, even some of the Government supporters came out against it. Since then, all the nationalist sections of the population—Moslems and Christians, religious leaders, traders, dockers, industrial workers, peasants and intellectuals—joined forces for the one purpose of achieving national independence.

The only way to ensure Lebanon's continued acceptance of the American alliance was to keep in power the men who put their signature to it last year and whose interests remain linked with it: President Chamoun and his Foreign Minister Charles Malik. Chamoun's announcement that he would ask for a revision of the Constitution to enable him to stand again as a candidate in the Presidential elections was the starting point of the civil war. His accusations of interference against the United Arab Republic completely unmasked him in the eyes of the Lebanese and other Arab peoples who know that the aim of these accusations is to split the Arab peoples and weaken their common struggle for independence.

Right along the southern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean as well as further inland the struggle of the Arab peoples goes on. It is reaching in North Africa a present climax in Algeria; and in West Asia a present climax in several other countries beset by the imperialists, as well as in the Lebanon, where two of the oil monopolies' pipelines sweep down to the sea.

So the Lebanese crisis is not an isolated event in the Arab world, it is part of the fight of the Arab peoples for their national independence. Why, it is often asked, is 'national independence' a cause for which men suffer, fight and die in countries which achieved independence years ago? Lebanon became independent in 1946, Syria in 1945, Iraq in 1927, Egypt in 1922.

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The short answer is that the forces of colonialism do not easily abdicate, they only let go when they are forced to; and independence remains an empty word if it is not accompanied by real self-determination and economic freedom. So long as the Arab peoples are split and weakened, their freedom is not secure. The fear of an aggressive return of colonial domination is ever present and indeed well-based. Exactly two years ago this month Egypt nationalised the Suez Canal Company, until then in the hands of foreign shareholders. Then came the Suez crisis: it sharpened the vigilance of the Arab peoples to the utmost. The aggression against Egypt made the generation-old movement for Arab unity a burning reality.

But even while the foreign troops were still in Port Said new methods to destroy this unity were being devised, this time in Washington. A week only after their withdrawal, the Eisenhower Doctrine was announced promising 200 million dollars—to be shared by 12 Middle-East countries—in return for acceptance of the use of American forces 'in case of Communist-dominated aggression', or in clearer language, in case of determined attempts at independence in which the State Department, with its well-known impartiality in these matters, could discern Communist inspiration.

It is true that of the seven Arab Governments to whom the deal was proposed—Egypt and Syria were not even approached—only two dared to accept openly. Yet the plan achieved one of its principal aims: even without the formality of subscribing to the Eisenhower Doctrine, unpopular Governments such as those of Iraq and Jordan, were propped up by the promise of American intervention in case of need, and the way was open for the suppression of nationalist elements.

Today the dividing line is clear. In the United Arab Republic of Egypt and Syria, without military alliances of any sort, an independent policy is followed, steel mills, oil refineries and factories of all kinds are being built, and the Syrian and Egyptian peoples are pushing ahead towards a better future. In the Arab Federal Union of Iraq and Jordan unpopular Governments are struggling against the pressure of their peoples for a nationalist policy. In Iraq a new Parliament has just come into being: in the 'free elections' staged by Nuri es Said, 125 seats out of 145 were returned unopposed, over half the new deputies are semi-feudal landowners. Jordan, seething with insurrection, is ruled by martial law, American dollars have replaced the British subsidy to maintain overworked police forces, and bankruptcy is ever round the corner.

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Peace before her Mirror

Peace exclaims: "Strange mirrors they make today!"

Published in *Le Charivari*, October 17, 1868, it is an expression of the war-like mood caused by the policy of the great powers, particularly Prussia and the French Empire

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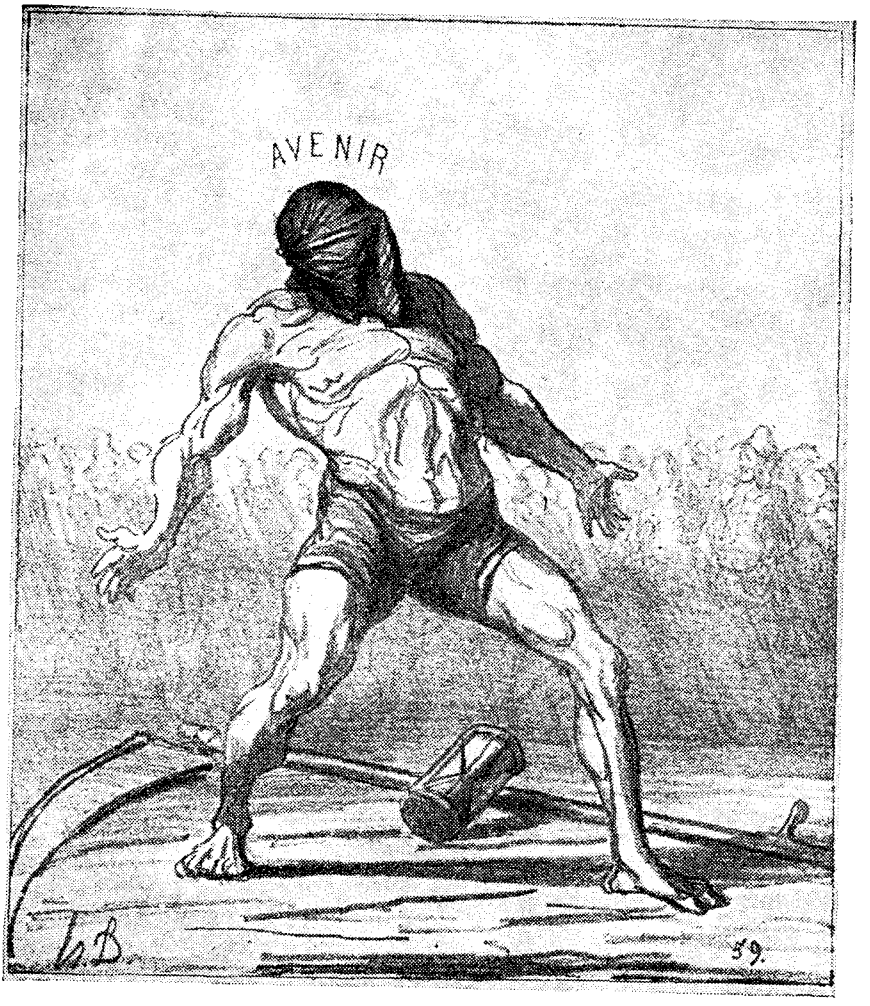

The Masked Wrestler

Avenir – the Future – is portrayed as a masked wrestler

Published in *Le Charivari*, November 9, 1867, this famous figure became for Daumier symbolic of the menacing future

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The Lebanese struggle for the end of American domination is watched anxiously in all Arab countries. It is also of great importance to the rest of the world. Soon after the Eisenhower Doctrine was announced, in January, 1957, Aneurin Bevan said that it could plunge the world into total war. Should the threat of Anglo-American armed intervention in the Lebanon be enforced, a world war would again be brought nearer, as it was during Eden's Suez adventure in 1956.

Real freedom and economic progress in the Arab countries, as in all colonial and ex-colonial countries, is in the true interest of the British people. Their freedom to trade as equal partners will mean better prospects for our trade. Their economic progress will need more and more the products of our industry. Above all, the end of military threats against them will mean the extinction of one of the flames of war kept alive by the blind greed of colonialism.

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THE INEXHAUSTIBLE GRAIN

D. N. Pritt, Q.C.

A DUSTY stretch of open land, an aerodrome gone out of use, normally idle and empty; it held on that July afternoon about 29,994 Africans, five Indians and one European.

The Africans were holding a meeting demanding peaceful but swift advance to independence. Men and women, Pagan and Christian and Moslem, with a few banners and many flowers. They squatted in their thousands in orderly rows on the ground, the gay colours and patterns of their cotton robes making a beautiful picture. As their leader talked hard common sense in soft friendly tones, with frequent sly little jokes, the men cheered, the women trilled and all laughed heartily at the jokes.

Why did they meet out here in the waste five miles from their sunny little town of Dar-es-Salaam instead of gathering—as they used to do—in the town itself? Well, the British who administer Tanganyika as 'trustees'* for the United Nations forbade them to meet in the town itself—meetings there, the trustees explained, would just attract the idle and the curious, and if the members of the Tanganyika African National Union really wanted to hold a serious meeting, and to let the world see it was a serious meeting of the T.A.N.U. members, they could prove it by footing the long stretch to the old aerodrome. So they proved it! They must have convinced the most die-hardened police informer.

There they sat, steady, determined, cheerful—none of the grimness of some European May Days—with scarcely a policeman in sight.

At one dramatic moment, a speaker says: 'They say you are just spectators, just curious, not members of T.A.N.U. Well, show your cards'. And up shot at least 25,000 brown arms, each with a membership card in it, like a forest of green leaves; it was like a hundred meetings of London dockers rolled into one. Quiet, friendly, peaceful, law-abiding; yes. But they mean business, and their business is the independence of their country—the most 'profitable', contagious, exciting, and invincible business of the mid-twentieth century. There is nothing shrill or superficial about them;

*'Trusteeship' is a conception of English Law, under which it is fundamental that the trustee take no profit for himself, directly or indirectly, and serve the interest of the beneficiary alone. The statesman who applied it to the colonies is believed to have been the only humourist in the history of colonialism.

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they are scarcely even emotional save with a deep quiet unshakable emotion; but 'the rumour that ye hear' among them is not rumour in the modern sense of the word; it is the 'tramp of the countless thousands marching onward to be free'.

And when the meeting ended, the European climbed on to a table whence he could see them all, and he watched the gay-coloured mass slowly expanding outwards and melting away towards its various destinations, like innumerable ripe blossoms flooding off all the flowering shrubs there ever were. It seemed to him symbolic, the time is ripe, the harvest ready. Soon more millions will reap the precious inexhaustible grain of freedom, which can no longer be stolen, denied, or delayed.

And he thought: thirty-six hours later the beloved soft-spoken leader is to stand in the dock, prosecuted by the 'trustees' for 'criminal defamation' of some of its administrators. He thought, and he smiled, for such a prosecution put him in mind of an infantile attempt to stave off the advancing tide with sand-castles! (He knew, too, that the real effect of such spade-work is like digging a deep trench to bring the tide in more swiftly.)

LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

Our part as acknowledged and organised Socialists is, while we watch keenly the development of the causes which would lead to the destruction of the present system, even if there were no acknowledged Socialists at all, to do all we can to aid the *conscious* attacks on the system by all those who feel themselves wronged by it. It is possible that we may live to see times in which it will be easier than now for the labourer to live as a labourer and not as a man, and there is a kind of utilitarian sham Socialism which would be satisfied by such an outcome of times of prosperity. It is very much our business to meet this humbug by urging the workers to sustain steadily their due claim to that fullness and completeness of life which no class system can give them. The claims of non-Socialist workmen go little beyond the demand for a bigger ration, warmer coat, and better lodging for the slave; and even Socialist workmen, I think, are apt to put their claims too low, at least in this country; for, indeed, one must say with a sense of shame in one's own better luck not possible to express, that the conditions under which they live and work make it difficult for them even to conceive the sort of life that a man should live.

(William Morris. From 'Facing the Worst of it', *Commonweal,* February 19, 1887.)

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SLUMP IN SHIPPING

Leonard Thomas

WITH freight rates down to levels stated to be 'the most uneconomic since the 1930's', the shipping industry in the capitalist half of the world has entered what none have hesitated to call a slump. Some weeks ago it was estimated that 7 million tons of merchant ships had already been laid up in the world as a whole. On June 1, in United Kingdom ports alone, 252 ships (183 British) of over 14 million gross registered tons were laid up. In May of this year the number of unemployed workers in the British shipping industry was over 9,500, 2,000 more than in May, 1957, and about 5½ per cent. of the total of seamen.

This slump in world shipping is the direct outcome of the recession in international trade which set in during 1957. For at the beginning of 1957 the rate of growth of exports slackened as compared with 1955 and 1956, and then tailed off altogether. In the last quarter of 1957, exports actually fell 1 per cent. below the corresponding 1956 level.

This levelling-off and incipient decline in the volume of trade has had particularly serious repercussions on the shipping industry, because it has coincided with the climax of an extremely rapid growth of the world's merchant fleet. As the volume of trade grew, so the total fleet expanded. But in recent times the net addition to the shipping tonnage available has become larger each year: in the twelve months to mid-1957 a record amount of five million tons was added, bringing the total to 110 million tons. The contradiction between the accelerating rate of expansion of the fleet and the slowing down in the growth of world trade, was in fact signalled from the beginning of 1957 by the fall in freight rates.

Freights had risen during 1954-56 as the economies of the capitalist world generally enjoyed a boom phase, and then went rocketing up still further as a result of the Suez aggression. On the base 1952=100, the index of tramp shipping voyage charter freights calculated by the U.K. Chamber of Shipping rose to nearly 190 in December, 1956. Since then it has fallen continuously and precipitately to less than 63 in April, 1958, a decline of about two-thirds. The fall in oil tanker freights has been even more dramatic.

The slump has hit tramp shipping hardest. These are the ships which carry such bulk cargoes as coal, iron ore, grain and also oil.

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Demand for such basic commodities has dwindled with the spreading recession. But the liners (cargo, passenger and mixed) are also affected: and this is reflected in the dissensions already evident in some of the monopolistic Shipping Conferences.

Two particular factors have aggravated the situation by an exaggerated stimulus to the growth of the merchant fleet. One was the previous sharp rise in freight rates, particularly at the time of Suez, which led to increased orders for new ships in the expectation of further bumper profits. The other, and more fundamental factor, is the struggle between different groups of shipowners. Since 1939 the world merchant fleet has grown by 41 million tons. This expansion has resulted partly from increases in the tonnage of such 'traditional' maritime countries as the U.K. But, after discounting the huge inactive 'mothball' fleet of the U.S.A. 43 per cent. of the increase has taken place under the so-called 'Flags of Convenience'. These, the 'Panlibhonco' fleets (sailing under the flags of Panama, Liberia, Honduras, and Costa Rica) now total over 11 million tons, against less than 100,000 tons pre-war. Liberia alone accounts for $7\frac{1}{2}$ million tons. Meantime the U.K. merchant fleet has grown by 2 million tons, to just under 20 million tons, and the Norwegian fleet by $3\frac{1}{2}$ million tons.

About 53 per cent. of the Panlibhonco ships are estimated to be operated by Greek shipowners, and 40 per cent. by Americans. Registration under these flags enables the owner to escape the tax laws and other regulations of his own country, as also control by the trade unions. The U.S. Government allows U.S.-registered ships to be transferred to these flags, its particular concern being to have control over such ships for war purposes.

In both 1956 and 1957 the largest increase in tonnage of any country in the world was recorded by Liberia. Attacks by the 'traditional' shipowners on the Flag of Convenience fleets have grown sharper and sharper as the slump in shipping has deepened. State interests are also involved because of the strategic importance of maintaining national merchant fleets; West Germany, be it noted, is rebuilding her fleet.

The rapid rise in oil production and consumption since the war provoked an ever faster growth in oil tanker tonnage. With the recession the rise in oil consumption has been choked off, but even when a more 'normal' level of demand is restored, future growth, it seems, will be less rapid. Most of the world tanker fleet is owned by independent tramp operators, the largest single tonnage being

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under the flag of Liberia. The oil companies (with their financial resources in exploration and development rather than in tankers) used to rely on the independents.

Last year a record volume of $5\frac{1}{2}$ million deadweight tons of new tankers entered into service, increasing the world total by 12 per cent.—about the same figure as that of tankers now reported to be laid up. But there is also an unprecedented volume of new tankers already on order, 19·5 million tons for the independents and 13·4 million tons for the oil companies, a total of 32·9 million tons, equal to 66 per cent. of the present fleet.

Apart from the contradiction between the 'Panlibhonco' operators and the traditional shipowners, and that between the independent tanker operators and the oil companies, there are other grounds of conflict. There is the U.S. Government's 'Flag Discrimination' by which certain American cargoes must be carried in American ships. There are the policies adopted by various other governments to sharpen the competitive position of their national shipowners. As a result, while there has been much discussion of the need for an international 'stabilisation' scheme to deal with the present slump, so far no agreement has been reached. For 'to be effective such a scheme needs to be universally accepted and the conflict of interests among shipowners is likely to prevent agreement'. (*Financial Times,* May 16, 1958.)

The general outlook is indeed by no means promising. And partial statistics available for the beginning of 1958 suggest that the volume of international trade is continuing to decline, possibly even more rapidly than in October-December, 1957. Meantime new launching of ships continues, some of these now going directly to be laid up.

If at bottom the shipping slump is the outcome of the general recession creeping over the capitalist world, it is also a factor tending to aggravate in turn the general decline. So far its most notable effect has been to cut down the new orders being placed with the shipyards, and to provoke a lengthening list of cancellations of orders previously placed. It is true that the British shipyards are relatively well placed, in that their existing order books would in general guarantee some years' work. However, it is clearly an unhealthy position, particularly for an industry such as ship-building, to be working through back orders with little new coming in, and cancellations of previous orders will tend to increase, the longer the shipping slump lasts.

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INDONESIA: THE THIRD PLOT

Jack Woddis

ON May 12, 1958, *The Times* Singapore correspondent calmly wrote: 'Reliable information here shows that Indonesia has not been able to produce proof, even in private, of intervention by Americans'.

This breath-taking assertion would be laughed out of court not only in Indonesia but throughout Asia, where the facts of the U.S. plot against Indonesia are as familiar as the day's rice. But in Britain, unfortunately, one can still get away with such claptrap.

In February and again in April this year, *Labour Monthly* published two articles outlining, in some detail, evidence of U.S. intervention in Indonesian affairs and the plot to organise a Sumatra-based revolt against the central Government. Since then, a flood of fresh evidence of U.S. complicity has come to hand.

This evidence is of two kinds. First, there are press reports, Government statements, declarations from Army officials, and other forms of what we might call circumstantial or second-hand evidence.

The second kind of evidence is material. This includes documents, weapons and individuals captured by the Indonesian Government. This evidence can be laughed off by no one, not even Dulles or Fleet Street.

In order that the evidence can simply be presented in a factual form, practically without comment, it would be best to sum up first what has happened since the April *Labour Monthly* article.

After the American-inspired revolt broke out in Sumatra on February 15, 1958, the rebels were quickly chased by the Indonesian Army first from Padang, and then at the beginning of May, from their 'capital' Bukittinggi. On May 4 the rebels moved to North Sulawesi (Celebes) and set up their new 'capital' at Menado.

This commenced what is known in Indonesia as 'the second plot'. The first plot was to use the Sumatra revolt to overthrow the central Government or bring about such changes in it that would result, in effect, in the setting up of a pro-American, pro-SEATO Government.

When the rebels were pushed out of Sumatra, the second plot was put into operation. This was to use the North Sulawesi base to tear away East Indonesia from the Republic and set up a SEATO base there.

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Western press commentators had previously made the point that the rebels obviously lacked aircraft. After their move to Menado aircraft 'appeared' on the rebel side. The evidence we give below shows that the aircraft was American, that it was arranged via U.S.-controlled Taiwan, that the U.S. air base at Clark airfield in the Philippines was used as a take-off base for air attacks, and that U.S. pilots flew at least some of the aircraft. Chiang Kai-shek troops from Taiwan took part in the land fighting, and flew some of the planes.* The U.S. Navy also intervened in the fighting; Admiral Frost intervened politically to put pressure on the Indonesian Government and at the same time maintained contact with the rebels in Medano.

First, statements of Indonesian Army Leaders:

On May 20, Army Chief-of-Staff Nasution revealed that over 10,000 pieces of arms had been airdropped to the rebels; that ships, bombers and fighters had been supplied to them; and that American and Chiang Kai-shek pilots were flying rebel planes attacking the Indonesian Republic. He also charged that foreign troops and aircraft had landed in Sulawesi and Halmahera. On May 27, Lieut.-Colonel Herman Pieters, Commander of the Maluku and West Irian military area, told reporters that during the recovery of Morotai the Indonesian Government forces had captured many brand-new American-made arms, including anti-aircraft guns of the latest type. These modern weapons, he stressed, had not been available to the Government forces. He showed pressmen articles used by a captured American pilot, all of which he pointed out were standard articles used by the U.S. Airforce. He said he was informed that many American pilots helping the rebels took off from the U.S. Clark airfield in the Philippines. He also showed the reporters important documents carried by the captured pilot.

Secondly, statements by Government leaders:

On April 30 the Premier Djuanda stated that United States and Chiang Kai-shek pilots had bombed a number of places in Indonesia, adding that the Indonesian Government had sufficient proof of this. The Government, he said, also had proof that between April 25 and 30 a number of automatic shoulder-borne weapons and fighter planes were smuggled in from Taiwan. On May 2 President Sukarno, in a speech in Bandung, said that there were tens of thousands of U.S.-made weapons and several hundred U.S.-manufactured heavy weapons in West Sumatra, which the rebels could not afford to purchase. He added that airplanes piloted by

*See the U.S. Ambassador's telegrams, February *Labour Monthly*.

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Americans and people from Taiwan had raided Indonesian soil. On May 3 the Indonesian Foreign Minister Subandrio summoned the American Ambassador to Indonesia, Howard Jones, and confronted him with evidence of the attack by American and Chiang Kai-shek pilots on Indonesia. In a statement to the press after this meeting, the Foreign Minister said it was clear that arms, airplanes and pilots employed by the rebels were all provided by the United States and Taiwan.

Thirdly, the attitude of Indonesian trade unions:

The 3,000,000-strong trade union centre, SOBSI, early in May appealed to trade union organisations in all countries for solidarity against the 'criminal intervention of the U.S.A.' On May 8, the 700,000-strong plantation workers' union said it was ready to take over American plantations and those belonging to the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Indonesia in retaliation for their intervention.

Fourthly, the press. And here again, because of space, I can select only a few of many, many examples:

On April 17, Keyes Beech of the *Chicago Daily News* wrote that 'for the last two months the rebel forces have been regularly supplied with American arms and ammunition by an organised air-drop from "unidentified" foreign planes. . . . Rebel Prime Minister Sjafruddin Prawiranegara told me that he had enough American arms to equip 8,000 troops and enough ammunition'. Beech added that the arms were airdropped on instructions from ex-General Claire Chennault, head of the American Civil Air Transport Company (CATC) in Taiwan. Beech also said there was 'evidence' that the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency was involved in cloak-and-dagger operations in Indonesia, and said that he knew the name of two 'foreigners' who lived in Padang before the revolt 'giving rebel officers advance information on what arms would be dropped and elementary instruction in their use'.

On April 30, the *News Chronicle* correspondent Arslan Humbaraci, wrote an article in the Indonesian paper *Merdeka*, after a fact-finding tour of the battle front in Central Sumatra. He stated that three American ships—'*Steel Executive*', '*Steel Fabricator*', and '*Steel Director*'—had unloaded arms for the rebels in Dumai, a Caltex port in Central Sumatra, on November 16, 1957, and on January 23 and 28 this year. These arms were directly transported from the United States. He went on to reveal that a member of the rebel forces had told him on April 24 that Americans connected with Caltex had constant contact with the rebel leader Simbolon,

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and had informed the rebels of the time and place of the air-dropping of arms by the United States. Humbaraci states that six rebel aircraft came from Taiwan and that they used the Philippines as a base from where they carried out their raids on Indonesia. He concludes his article by stating that his purpose in writing it was to awaken public opinion in Western Europe and the United States. On June 8 the *Berita Minggu* reported that the U.S. 7th Fleet had taken part in bombarding Ambon and Balikpapan, in East Indonesia.

Amongst important material evidence known to be in the hands of the Indonesian Government there is Allen Lawrence Pope, an American pilot, shot down in a raid over Ambon on May 18. Documents captured on Pope show he was officially working for CATC, the American air line run by the U.S. ex-General Claire Chennault. (The CATC acts as an unofficial wing of the U.S. Airforce, and had previously been used during the Korean War, as well as to drop supplies to Chiang Kai-shek's marauding troops in Burma and to the French army during the battle of Dien Bien Phu.) Pope is a lieutenant of the U.S. Airforce, but was released with seven other American pilots by the U.S. command in Ryukyu, Fort Buckner, which certified that they were assigned temporary duty to leave the command in order to help the rebels. In that capacity they were transferred to the CATC as personnel 'on leave'. On his capture, Pope admitted that he had used the Clark airfield in the Philippines. The Indonesian authorities state that they captured many important documents on him.

There is also the letter sent by Rear Admiral Lawrence Frost, Chief of the U.S. Naval Intelligence Bureau, to the rebel leader, Kawilarang, former Indonesian Military Attache to Washington. In his letter, a copy of which has been published in Indonesia, Frost advised the rebels to maintain their organisations and not surrender. He told the rebels not to despair because the U.S. had issued official statements of non-interference in Indonesia's civil war. 'We will continue our assistance to you through Taiwan, the Philippines and other channels', he promised. On June 25 the Indonesian Foreign Minister Subandrio summoned the U.S. Ambassador Howard P. Jones and asked him to clarify this letter. The U.S. Ambassador asked for a few days before he could give his official reaction.

There only remains to add a note of warning. Plots One and Two have failed. Plot Three has begun. This is a double-edged plot, consisting of turning West Irian into a SEATO base (note: on June 30, two days after the fall of Menado, the Netherlands

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Government announced Dutch troops were being sent to West Irian), and at the same time, seeking out individuals in the Indonesian political parties, the armed forces, the administration, and the mass organisations, who will play the American game, start an anti-Communist campaign, divide the national front, delay the 1959 general election, and bring about a change of Government.

With vigilance and unity, Plot Three can also be defeated.

LABOUR MONTHLY TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO

REVISIONISM

In the first decades of its development, Marxist theory became the line of orientation and the foundation of the policy and organisation of the German labour movement. Marxism overcame the bourgeois and pseudo-socialist influences in the German labour movement. . . .

Bernstein replaced the revolutionary theory of the working class by the theory of reformism (called revisionism), *i.e.*, the community of interests of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and the slow growth of capitalism (purged of its defects) into socialism.

'The movement is everything, the final aim, nothing', was Bernstein's political thesis on the orientation for the labour movement. The trade union leaders and also many of the social-democrats immediately took Bernstein's thesis as a basis for their activities. That dangerous revolutionary Marxism, which in any case brought one into conflict with the State, was thrown upon the scrap-heap as obsolete. Only a small group of revolutionary workers, under the leadership of Rosa Luxembourg, commenced an energetic struggle on principle in Germany against this sham socialist, in reality bourgeois, theory of Bernstein. True, official social-democracy also waged a sham struggle against revisionism, but without any consistency whatever. It was just a make-believe war in which Kautskyan centrism capitulated in all fundamental questions. The consequence was that even before the outbreak of the World War, revisionism had triumphed in the German labour movement. . . .

When Bernstein renounced Marxism and wrote his 'Pre-requisites for Socialism', the new theory of social-democracy, he probably did not think that the policy of social-democracy and of the Independent Trade Unions, which was built up on his new theory, would become the pre-requisite for the victory of fascism. It is not, however, a question of what one thinks but rather of the consequence of such a thought. The path from Bernstein to Hitler is a very logical one. Here, in the history of social-democracy under Bernstein's leadership, is revealed all the dialectical content of Goethe's words: 'At the first step, you are free; at the second, you are slaves'.

From: *From Bernstein to Hitler,* by Fritz Heckert. August, 1933.

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PARLIAMENTARIANISM AND BOULANGISM

Paul Lafargue

How General Boulanger threatened to 'reform The French Constitution'—70 years ago.

Seventy years ago, in 1888, France was in the midst of a deep political crisis. There had been a disastrous colonial war in Indo-china, which had ruined French finances. War-like ambitions were reviving among the big capitalists defeated in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870. Defeat of the working class by the overthrow of the Paris Commune of 1871 had created a feeling among the rich that everything was now permitted, and corruption among politicians had become widespread. Masses of the people were completely disillusioned in the political parties sporting 'left' and 'Republican' titles. The first French Marxist workers' party, the Parti Ouvrier *formed in 1879, had not a single M.P. but was rapidly gaining ground. In these conditions General Boulanger, a former War Minister, had launched a demagogic campaign for 'reform of the Constitution', a 'strong' Government appointed by the President and independent of the elected Chamber, etc., Boulanger had close relations both with the bourgeois Radicals who claimed to be Republicans and with the ultra-reactionaries who abused the Republic as 'La Gueuse' ('The Trollop'). He was also supported by Army generals, the Paris police and the monarchists, who saw in Boulangism the way to restore absolute power once again.*

This was the situation in which, that year, the first Russian Social-Democrats (which then meant revolutionary Marxists)—the Group for the Emancipation of Labour, working from Geneva because they were illegal in their own country—printed this article in the first issue of their review, Sotzial-Demokrat. *Its author, Paul Lafargue (1842-1911), was one of the most brilliant Socialist thinkers of the European working class movement. Member of the General Council of the First International from 1866, delegate of the Paris Commune and its representative at Bordeaux in 1871, Lafargue with Karl Marx (whose daughter Laura had married him in 1868), Jules Guesde and Frederick Engels had in 1880 drawn up the programme of the* Parti Ouvrier. *Lafargue was already famous in many countries for his merciless exposure of bourgeois humbug in such spheres as ethics, morality and culture, as well as for his lucid explanations of basic principles of Socialism. It was natural for*

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the Russian Socialists to ask him for an analysis of the French crisis on which the eyes of the world were then fixed.

Boulanger was defeated, the following year, by a last-minute alliance of the 'left' parties and the workers. But in 1958 the issues so incisively exposed by Lafargue have reappeared in France, and before the whole world, as the result of General de Gaulle's combination of the methods pursued unsuccessfully by Boulanger in 1888-89 and (for a time) more successfully by Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte in 1848-49—the latter exposed for future ages by Karl Marx in his Eighteenth Brumaire. *It seems appropriate, therefore, that the* Labour Monthly *should now publish—for the first time in English—Paul Lafargue's devastating study. The French workers today have a powerful weapon in their hands—the Communist Party of France—which their grandfathers did not possess, and as a class, in consequence, they are not to be numbered among the would-be dictators' followers. French Communists have made parliament a splendid sounding-board for the workers' demands. But in many other respects the article is as fresh and thought-provoking as in 1888.*—Andrew Rothstein.

PARLIAMENTARIANISM is a system of government where the people have the illusion that they are managing the affairs of the country themselves when, in reality, effective power is concentrated under the system in the hands of the bourgeoisie—and not even of all the bourgeoisie, but of only some strata of that class. In the first period of its rule the bourgeoisie does not understand, or more correctly does not feel, the necessity of creating for the people the illusion of self-government. For this reason all the parliamentary countries of Europe began with a limited franchise. Everywhere the right to give direction to the policy of the country by means of electing deputies belonged at first only to more or less substantial property-owners, and only gradually thereafter spread to less well-off citizens until, in some countries, it changed from the privilege of a few to the universal right of all and sundry.

In bourgeois society, the more considerable the mass of social wealth becomes, the smaller and smaller is the number of individuals by whom it is appropriated. The same takes place with political authority. As the mass of citizens possessing political rights grows, and the number of elected rulers increases, real authority is concentrated in, and becomes the monopoly of, an ever-smaller and smaller group of individuals. In the capitalist countries which have reached a high degree of development, like England, France and

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the United States, State power is in the hands of the financiers, although the electoral rights are extremely broad, while in two of the countries mentioned there is even universal suffrage.

The electors amuse themselves by drawing up programmes, their candidates swear to labour unfalteringly at putting these programmes into effect, but the elected candidate no longer belongs to himself and still less does he belong to the electors. Devoured by the thirst for money, he becomes the servant of the financiers, who pay him in cash or, in those cases when the deputy is as incorruptible as Cato, they reward him with directorates in financial companies. Corruption of politicians is the characteristic feature of parliamentarianism; politics becomes a trade—a profitable one, too. The scandals which break out from time to time, both in republican France and America and in monarchical Britain, may surprise the naive: but in reality they are only the external symptoms of the profound organic disease which undermines a parliamentary régime.* Moreover, buying and selling represent after all the main social function of every bourgeois; why then should not the deputy, who has neither sugar nor leather to sell, not trade in his vote?

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*In order not to give cause to the Anarchists to imagine that I share in any way their theories, which in the long run are only extreme exaggerations of the hackneyed ideas of the bourgeoisie, I think necessary the following observation.

Recognising the defects of parliamentarianism, which is not at all hard because these defects catch the eye, the Anarchists in their simplicity imagine that the parliamentary régime can be ended by preaching against universal suffrage, by magic formulæ like 'abolishing the State' and other equally simple trifles. But parliamentarianism is not so easy to abolish. Its tricks which so enrage the Anarchists amuse the public and distract its attention from the points which are most interesting for the financiers, making it possible for them rapidly and quietly to effect their serious business—like railway concessions, subsidies to various undertakings which are proclaimed of public value, colonial expeditions, customs tariffs and so forth.

So long as the nation is divided into classes, property-owners and those not possessing property, there will inevitably exist also the State, which guarantees the privileges of the property-owning class and the subjection of the working class. Despotism is the form of State of the military and aristocratic class, parliamentarianism of the bourgeois and capitalist class. To require the abolition of all forms of State before the classes themselves have been abolished is senseless. When the proletariat of Europe and America takes possession of the State, it will have to organise a revolutionary authority and rule society dictatorially until the bourgeoisie has disappeared as a class, *i.e.*, until there has been completed the nationalisation of the means of production (banks, railways, factories, mines, works, etc.).

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In despotic countries the head of the state governs with brutal senselessness. He says: 'I desire'—and that argument is quite sufficient. He has no need to reckon with either the requirements or the wishes of the governed. But members of parliament, who call themselves the servants of the sovereign people and fulfillers of its instructions, have to resort to tricks in order, while ruling the people, not to destroy its illusions. Parliamentary tricks are extremely numerous—the right to vote and to petition, which afford an innocent amusement to the electors; parliamentary commissions and enquiries, which serve as the most rapid and reliable means of evading important and difficult questions; endless and verbose discussions about trifles, which help to kill time and befog the minds of the electors, etc., etc.

The most complex and the most successful parliamentary trick is to divide the deputies into two rival parties, which replace each other in power, in order in turn to rob the people and act in the interests of property-owners. In all its perfection this system of parliamentary equilibristics has been able to function only in Britain. Here the parliamentary world is divided into Tories and Liberals, their arguments command the attention of the public and arouse its passions, but the exploitation of the producers for the benefit of the landowners and capitalists goes on with equal success, whichever party holds the reins of government. And it must be noted that the most cruel repressive measures against Ireland were adopted by Liberal administrations, while the Factory Acts were imposed on the manufacturers by the Conservatives.

Some semblance of this system existed in France only during the reign of Louis Philippe. Amid the thunder of speeches and agitation, power passed then in turn from Thiers to Guizot and from Guizot back to Thiers without the tiniest alterations in the affairs of the bourgeoisie. The proper swing of the parliamentary pendulum is rendered difficult in France mainly because of the incapacity of our politicians and their blind, stupid love of power. They cling to their ministerial portfolios as a drowning man clings to a straw, and in order to keep their places flatter the conservative instincts of the bourgeois classes and resist the most harmless innovations. Purely political reforms like the extension of the franchise, which do not represent the slightest danger to the property-owners and have been achieved in England by peaceful means, could be torn from the hands of French parliaments only by means of revolutions.

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These revolutions endangered the very existence of the bourgeoisie, because the revolutionaries made use of them to insist on social reforms. Fearing for their privileges, the propertied classes then flung themselves into the embraces of dictators. In 1848, after the June days, the dictators were Cavaignac and Prince Louis Napoleon. In 1871, after the Paris Commune, the dictator was Thiers. Thus the same system of equilibrium established itself in France in a different form. From the height of more or less full parliamentarianism it falls to personal government, modified to an extent by parliamentary institutions, in order later, after getting rid of personal authority, again to return to pure parliamentarianism. But under such a system in France there has grown up the custom of seeking a way out of social or political difficulties in providential individuals, saviours of order and society.

The third bourgeois Republic, which followed the autocratic government of Napoleon III, began with the massacre of Paris, with the help of Bismarck. The republican form proved the most convenient for the bourgeoisie to commit its crimes against the working class. The parliaments of the Republic, impotent to carry out any reforms whatsoever, proved able only to compromise the country's finances, increase the taxes, exhaust the country by distant expeditions of the highest colonial brigandage, and to provide the forces of the State in the service of the employers to crush strikes.

In 1848 and 1871 the propertied classes sought the way out of the difficulties of the economic and political situation at the feet of dictators. Now workers, peasants and petty industrial and trading bourgeoisie, losing all hope of parliament, are turning in their search for a way out of the present situation to an individual, General Boulanger. Boulangism is an unconscious, but disquieting and terrible, expression of the sickness of society and the dissatisfaction of the victimised classes, who have lost their illusions, lost their faith in the words and deeds of the parliamentary republicans.

General Boulanger is not yet dangerous, but for the ruling classes, Boulangism is very dangerous: it is the forerunner of social revolution.

Are you coming to the Discussion Conference on 'Britain and the Colonies'? See page 346 for details.

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A PEACE WEAPON

Quaestor

ON September 6, 1957, the Trades Union Congress unanimously adopted a resolution urging that the Government should propose 'the immediate unconditional suspension of tests to the Governments of other Powers directly concerned, as a first step towards the banning of all nuclear weapons'. It denounced 'the continued testing and manufacture of atomic and hydrogen bombs' as leading to 'growing health hazards and danger to world peace'. Repeating the T.U.C. demands for immediate suspension of tests, and declaring that 'constant stockpiling of nuclear weapons and H-bomb tests are an obstacle to international agreement', the Labour Party Conference on October 3, 1957, also called on the Government to seek international agreement for a ban on nuclear weapons, 'destruction of existing stocks with international control and inspection', and 'progressive disarmament with adequate supervision by the United Nations'.

A new and highly valuable publication* by the Labour Research Department—packed with facts and precise quotations on all main aspects of its subject, with much additional information on connected subjects (like 'conventional' disarmament and 'disengagement' in Europe)—rightly begins with these two quotations. It thus makes clear the declared policy of the British Labour movement.

What it might have done with advantage was to point out that for many years past the demands which organised Labour put forward in the autumn of 1957 have also for years been the declared policy of the U.S.S.R. It first proposed the banning of atom bombs (with destruction of stocks) in 1946, combining this with a scheme of full international supervision in 1947: and it called for the banning of hydrogen bombs (on exploding its own first H-bomb) in August, 1953. It proposed the immediate stopping of tests as long ago as March 27, 1956.

When, therefore, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., on December 21, 1957, called for 'a personal meeting between the leaders of States and the discussion by them of *urgent international problems*' (my italics)—and when it put at the head of such problems two points which directly echoed British Labour's demands—you might

Facts on the Nuclear Arms Race, L.R.D. Publications Ltd., 23 pp. 1s.

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have thought it would meet with a cordial response from British Labour leaders. What were these points?

1. Britain, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. to pledge themselves not to use nuclear weapons.
2. The three Powers should stop all tests as from January 1, 1958.*

But if you look up the press at that time, you will find that in fact that Labour leaders began helping the Tories by insinuation that 'it may be only propaganda', 'we should test their sincerity' and so forth. It was not until March 6, 1958—2½ months later—that a joint declaration by the T.U.C. and Labour Party leaders urged 'summit talks in the near future', an international agreement on suspending tests at once, and unilateral suspension of tests by Britain at once. The Tory Government refused the demand. On March 31, 1958, the Soviet Government itself proclaimed unilateral ending of tests. But you would look in vain for a raging, tearing campaign by the Labour leaders, fortified by this tremendous announcement, to rally the British people against the Government on this issue.

The L.R.D. booklet gives a lucid and telling summary of facts—presented with complete impartiality—which disprove the usual Tory and right-wing Labour leaders' lies when challenged about the refusal to suspend tests. One is that the U.S.S.R. has refused to link the stopping of tests with the stopping of production of *nuclear weapons*. In reality, the capitalist Powers have never offered such a thing. What they offered was to stop producing *fissile materials*—thus enabling them to go on producing the weapons themselves from the huge United States and other stocks of such materials (pp. 6-7). Another is that the U.S.S.R. supposedly possesses overwhelming superiority in conventional arms and armies. In reality, the U.S.S.R. has time and again accepted the Anglo-American proposals for cuts in these—which would have eliminated any such superiority—but the capitalist powers have thereupon repeatedly backed out (pp. 8-9, 10-11). In fact, the Supreme Soviet's resolution of December 21 last suggested, as one of the urgent topics for a summit meeting, a 'substantial reduction' of the armed forces and armaments of the Great Powers. A third is that the U.S.S.R. has always avoided committing itself to detailed schemes for international inspection covering its own territory. In reality, as the booklet shows, it has made a number of far-reaching and precise proposals for such inspection since 1955 (pp. 11-12)—

*In an often overlooked telegram to Nehru on December 10, 1957, Bulganin, for the Soviet Union, had already solemnly declared that it would cease testing from January 1 if the U.S.A. and Great Britain also agreed to do so.

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though the booklet does not mention earlier schemes, going back as far as 1947.

There are also excellent sections—giving facts, quotations and dates—on the question of disengagements in Europe (creating a zone free from nuclear weapons) (pp. 13-14), the different types and devastating power of nuclear weapons (pp. 15-16), the spread of nuclear weapons, particularly to the breeding-ground of a new war of revenge—Western Germany (p. 17), the risk of accidents and the dangers of nuclear tests as such (pp. 18-21), and the fantastic cost of the arms drive (pp. 22-24).

No one who studies the L.R.D. booklet can fail to realise that the British, United States and French Governments have for eight months now been refusing the Soviet offer of a summit conference for a deliberate and malicious purpose. When they have been 'acting silly', pretending that they did not know the conference was not intended to solve all the big differences between them, but only the urgent ones capable of solution at once: when they have been dragging up all the pretexts mentioned earlier: this was done precisely because they knew that a fair and quick settlement at a summit conference was perfectly feasible.

They don't want a settlement. They don't want tests stopped, nuclear weapons banned, arms and armies reduced, a non-aggression agreement between NATO and Warsaw Powers, a pact to keep their forces out of the Middle East—all proposals on urgent topics for a summit meeting to discuss, made by the Supreme Soviet. That would be a big step to peace—and the British, American and French Governments don't want peace. All their conduct, all their provocations (like the H-bomb flights near the Soviet Arctic frontier) show it. They want to keep up the war threat.

Only one thing can stop them in their mischief—the organised working class, with the forces of the nation which it can rally behind it. The new L.R.D. booklet is a powerful weapon in its hands.

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BOOKS

Socialism and the Middle Classes.

Andrew Grant.

Lawrence & Wishart. 171 pp. 15s.

ALL of us who have thought and argued about 'Socialism and the Middle Classes' should be grateful to Andrew Grant. With this book he has helped us to see what we should have been arguing about. For it must be admitted that too many of these arguments about the 'Middle Classes', 'middle strata' or 'middle sections' turn out to be a frustrating waste of time because the 'middle whatever-it-is' is only a misty phantom in the minds of the arguers. The merit of this book is that it tackles the job of telling us who and what and how many the members of the middle strata in Britain really are. It shows, too, that the composition of these sections is not static but is constantly changing, and changing quite rapidly. This was a job that badly needed doing.

Although the author sensibly, in my opinion, has used the term 'middle classes' in the title of the book, he hastens to explain in the Introduction that he does not regard such terms as accurate when applied to the Britain of today. 'They are indeed terms which one finds in common usage', he writes, 'but are not more accurate because of this. Their use implies that there is in fact in Britain at this moment a third class or more than three classes. It is the thesis of this book that an examination of the facts does not lend positive support to either of these contentions'.

In the first chapter, 'The muddle of the "Middle Class",' he explains the Marxist view on classes and shows how confusion about the 'middle class' has been used in capitalist and reformist propaganda as a weapon against socialism. He points out how this propaganda has tried to 'undermine the basic socialist idea of "the vital conflict" between classes and to seek to "prove" the existence of a "vast amorphous cushion of intermediate classes" taking the place of the working class'.

'If socialism is to be brought into being in Britain,' he writes, 'these ideas have to be nailed as the fantasy they really are. The working class is the overwhelming majority, and will play the leading part in the transition of Britain to a socialist society. However, the middle sections are a powerful force both numerically and in terms of influence, and the assistance of considerable numbers of them in developing a socialist Britain can make the task immeasurably lighter'.

With the help of the 1951 Census figures Andrew Grant reaches the conclusion that in that year the middle sections consisted of between roughly 17 per cent. and 18 per cent. of the occupied population. After examining the position of clerical workers and shop assistants and taking into account the present trends of mechanisation in office work and new techniques in retail distribution, he writes: 'The evidence therefore shows that neither clerks nor shop assistants can be considered part of the middle sections in Britain'.

Under the chapter headings 'Small Producers, Manufacturers and Traders', he examines in greater detail those sections of the population which may be regarded as having an intermediate status. Taking the Occupation Tables of the 1951 Census, he shows that at that time

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87·7 per cent. of those in the professions were in the category of 'employed', while only 12·3 per cent. came under the headings of 'employers', 'managers' and 'self-employed'. Attention is drawn, too, to the growth of trade unions catering for professional people and to the development of more militant forms of struggle in defence of their interests.

The final chapter—'The Labour Movement and the "Middle Class"'—contains much sound sense about the role of the middle sections in political life, including the 'middle class vote'. It urges the need for the Left to strive for a closer relationship between the working-class movement and the middle sections of the population and points out that a working-class movement that is united can win large numbers of professional people, small business people and working farmers for progressive policies and for socialism.

In his concluding paragraphs Andrew Grant draws attention to the need for further studies of questions of social classes in Britain. He himself has made an important contribution, and when they come to the end of his book many readers will wish it had been at least twice as long.

R. MALCOLM.

Inside Russia Today.

By John Gunther.

Hamish Hamilton. 591 pp. 25s.

MR. GUNTHER tells us in his first sentence: 'For a long time I have wanted to write an Inside book about the Soviet Union, and this is it.'

It certainly is.

Last year Mr. Gunther spent a full two months in—or, if you prefer it, inside—the Soviet Union and even made a trip 'to such remote, romantic places as Samarkand and Bukhara', which, even by TU-104, takes several precious hours of a fellow's time.

How does he do it? At what stage of his 'That's-Gunther-that-was' travels comes the Moment of Truth when he passes from in to inside—*Inside Africa, Inside Europe, Inside Asia* and other assorted insides? And when he comes back unscathed to the Outside to tell the tale, how does he manage to convince even some of the people some of the time that the tale he has to tell is, as his publishers assure us, 'scrupulously objective' and 'authoritative'?

A full answer would take a volume—would, I think, make a very worth-while volume, say, a biographical *Inside John Gunther* or something on the lines of *Gamesmanship* ('The Art of Winning Without Actually Cheating').

An interesting example of Insidemanship is the fact that Mr. Gunther acknowledges his sources not at the beginning but at the end of his book, by which time, presumably, any undue curiosity about such matters will have evaporated. Anyone who takes the trouble to study these anticlimactic fourteen pages of small print will see that all but a tiny fraction of *Inside Russia Today*—an important fraction, however, for it includes the sales-promoting, supercharged preposition of its title—could have been written in a newspaper morgue on Times Square, New York, N.Y., U.S.A., without a foot having been set inside Russia today.

More than that, a big proportion of Mr. Gunther's lavish quotation and paraphrase come from what non-Insiders would call notoriously

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anti-Soviet sources. And here arises a curious situation which makes these fourteen pages by far the most informative ones in the whole book: Mr. Gunther derives his 'authority' by quoting publications and persons, practically all American, who in their turn would—and, in fact, do—derive 'authority' by quoting the famous Mr. Gunther! He even pays tribute to *Reader's Digest* for 'giving hospitality to' a little orphaned article of his when the well-remembered *Collier's*, which had promised it a home, went and died on him before it could fulfil this self-abnegating duty to the public. *Look*, too, it seems, 'valiantly took over' a similar 'commitment'. Is it only socialists who ever do anything for hard cash?

Mr. Gunther scores much-needed points for credibility when (as is now fashionable in Inside circles) he withholds his blessing from Mr. Dulles; when, belatedly, he warns against underestimating Soviet achievements, and when he makes blunt admissions like: 'This' (the Soviet Union) 'is still the world's first "wholly rational and scientific state".' But one of his main themes, if I follow it correctly, is that a country which deliberately sets out to be non-absurd, rational and scientific is bound to be 'dull', 'drab', 'dismal' and in some mystical but essential way, permanently inferior to Mr. Gunther's free world of General Motors and its deliciously non-functional tail-fins that somehow take the shine out of any non-free tail-fins that ever reached outer space.

Mr. Gunther arranges and presents with great skill his formidable collection of facts and figures (the indexed ones alone number about seven thousand) and from them emerges a very coherent account of Mr. Gunther's Russia—about which all I need say is that I should hate to live in so truly dismal a land, wherever it may be. I prefer to live among people who, collectively as well as individually, *enjoy* having a clear purpose in life, in knowing where they are going and in knowing that nothing can stop them.

ARCHIE JOHNSTONE.

Moscow.

Moscow Art Theatre.

A Symposium by A. Solodovnikov (director) and others.
Soviet News. 2s. 44 pp. with illustrations.

THIS symposium is an attractive and valuable comment on the Moscow Art Theatre on its first visit to Britain which has taken London by storm. It has photographs of its great creators, Stanislavsky and Nemirovich-Danchenko, of its playwrights Chekov and Gorky and of the actors both of their day and of those who have been acting in London.

Alexander Solodovnikov, the director, gives a succinct account of the principles on which the theatre has been developed, and the wide scope of its plays: not only the great classical and modern Russian dramatists but Shakespeare, Oscar Wilde and Shaw are regularly played. The author emphasises that 'it is deeply erroneous to view the Art Theatre as a kind of museum in which artistic values gained 50 or more years ago are retained intact', each generation 'has introduced . . . something new, linked with the new ideas of the period with the new approach to reality'.

Nikolai Volkov gives an idea of the scope and genius of Stanislavsky as an actor and director and Nemirovich-Danchenko as a dramatist and

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writer before they developed their abilities as directors and producers.

Vitali Vilenkin on 'Chekov and the Art Theatre' says: 'they could not have found a better ally than Chekov in their struggle to transform the Russian drama in their assault on routine and stereotyped convention that had so enmeshed theatrical art by the end of the last century'.

Grigori Zayavlin gives facts and figures about the theatre. He points out that 'on opening in October, 1898, the company was made up of 38 people and today of 148', and in addition to the company playing in London two other companies are playing nightly in two different theatres in Moscow.

A symposium to read and to cherish.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

BOOKS

The Music Masters (2), Edited by A. L. Bacharach, Pelican Books (390 pp. 5s.).
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Labour Problems in West Africa, by J. I. Roper, Penguin Books. 112 pp. 2s.
1931 Political Crisis, by R. Bassett, Macmillan & Co. 464 pp. 42s.
The Great Road: Life and Times of Chu Teh, by Agnes Smedley, John Calder. 461 pp. 35s.
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History and Conscience, Hershel D. Meyer, New Century Publishers, New York. 64 pp. 8s.

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(Continued from page ii of cover)

But why are so many people overseas concerned with a journal of Marxism applied to *British* conditions? That brings us to the second reason, which is profoundly important, and not enough appreciated here. What the British workers are thinking and doing today is a matter of enormous importance to the rest of the world. What are the real trends, which press, radio and telly are so skilled at concealing? So skilled, indeed, that they can deceive the experts; and if they can't persuade us not to believe our own eyes and ears, it is not for want of trying. (Ask the busmen!). Imagine the reaction of Cypriots, Pakistanis, Chinese, Egyptians, if a British Government announced withdrawal from Nato and Seato and an intention to review all economic trade agreements. These things are going to happen; but how soon? People overseas want to know, what holds the British Labour movement back? Can it be relied upon to prevent a second 'Korea' in the Middle East, another 'Algeria' in Kenya? Unwilling to accept those 'British spokesmen' who misrepresent us, our overseas friends turn to L.M. for the sober truth. In contrast with the distorted picture from official sources put over on them, they find L.M. comes like 'a breath of fresh air'; or 'a sane voice in a lunatic asylum'; or 'as pungent as smelling salts—one sniff invigorates me', to quote American, Canadian and Australian readers. The young Scottish railwayman, the Tyneside shipyard apprentice, the Notts miner—pencil in hand as he reads—find 'The Cost of the Monarchy', the 17-page Notes on 'Strike Strategy' or the 21-page 'New Battle of France' as useful to them as our Japanese, U.S. and Indian readers. It was not from them that I had a complaint that these were 'too long', 'out-of-date', 'likely to put off new readers'. Perhaps an appropriate close would be to quote from an American new reader who writes 'to assess my first year's acquaintance with L.M. My first reaction is to wonder how I managed to do without it before. My second is a twinge of regret that such wealth of thought can come into my home only from across the Atlantic. (But give us time!) Many others here look forward each month to L.M. for profound historical sense, solid factual grasp and rich Marxist analysis, written in literate, refreshing, cant-free English'.

Some interesting donations I must write about next time.

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